

# **The Philosophical Premises of Muhammad Iqbal's Political Thought**

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In this paper, I will examine the philosophical premises of Muhammad Iqbal's political thought, mainly in the light of his insightful exposition of philosophical ideas in *The Reconstruction of the Religious Thought in Islam*. Even though Iqbal, in *The Reconstruction of the Religious Thought in Islam*, seems to focus mainly on the themes and problems of philosophical nature, it can be also approached as a work that lays down some of the fundamental premises on his political thoughts, as a deeper look at the work clarifies this point very eloquently. At a superficial level, one might not find Iqbal's works very systematic; however, every part of his work, both poems and writings on different themes, if examined in detail, appears quite organic and focused mainly on the formulations of the intellectual premises for the political, social, economic and cultural awakening of the Muslim community.

The inner connection of Iqbal's thought in relation to the philosophical foundation for the political reflection is expressed clearly in the important questions with which he starts the discussion in *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*; and they, as formulated by Iqbal, read: "What is the character and general structure of the universe in which we live? Is there a permanent element in the constitution of this universe? How are we related to it? What place do we occupy in it, and what is the kind of conduct that befits the place we occupy?"<sup>1</sup>.

The best conduct, which leads to the development of the capacity of the human beings, should be in harmony with the essential structure of the universe. If the universe's nature is dynamic, and the time has got a central role in it, the spiritual and social life of humanity must show the same dynamism.

Iqbal explains what he sees as the main difference between the Western and Eastern approaches to the time and reality, as follows: "The Western man's mental texture is chronological in character. He lives and moves and has his being in time. The Eastern man's world-consciousness is non-historical. To the Western man things gradually become; they have a past, present and future. To the Eastern man they are immediately rounded off, timeless, purely present. That is why Islam which sees in the time-movement a symbol of rea-

lity appeared as an intruder in the static world-picture of Asia”<sup>2</sup>.

The last sentence is quite insightful; and in my opinion, it summarises the core of Iqbal’s philosophical thought: Islam’s conception of the universe and the destiny of man is dynamic. The realities of becoming and historical process are not interpreted as a threat to the eternal and unchanging cosmic order, but as a crucial opportunity for progress and improvement.

The reality of change doesn’t involve the universe and human life externally, but constitutes their intimate and original character. This dynamic character is central in the Quranic revelation, “As I have already pointed out, the universe, according to the Quran, is liable to increase. It is a growing universe and not an already completed product which left the hand of its maker ages ago, and is now lying stretched in space as a dead mass of matter to which time does nothing, and consequently is nothing”<sup>3</sup>.

Unfortunately, Eastern cultures, where the role of time is very marginal, influenced, for centuries, Muslim societies in concealing Islam’s real message. Iqbal argues, “The first important point to note about the spirit of Muslim culture then is that, for purpose of knowledge, it fixes its gaze on the concrete, the finite. It is further clear that the birth of the method of observation and experiment in Islam was due not to a compromise with Greek thought but to a prolonged intellectual warfare with it. In fact, the influence of the Greeks who, as Briffault says, were interested chiefly in theory, not in fact, tender rather to obscure the Muslims’ vision of the Quran, and for at least two centuries kept the practical Arab temperament from asserting itself and coming to its own”<sup>4</sup>.

The refusal of the essential reality of movement, change and the dynamic character of the universe and history doesn’t belong to Islam, both as a culture and as a religion, but must be interpreted as an influence of the cultures with which Islam historically met. The lack of the understanding of the Islamic teachings and the corruption of Islam’s original message with a sick mysticism endowed with nihilistic features have led, together with historical reasons, to the progressive degeneration of social, economic and political history of the Muslim community.

Iqbal observes, “The conquest of Persia meant not the conversion of Persia to Islam, but the conversion of Islam to Persianism. Read the intellectual history of the Muslims of Western and Central Asia from the 10 century downwards, and you will find therein verified every word that I have written above”<sup>5</sup>.

“The present-day Muslim prefers to roam about aimlessly in the dusky valleys of Hellenic-Persian Mysticism, which teaches us to shut our eyes to the hard reality around, and to fix our gaze in what is described as “Illumination”. To me this self-mystification, this nihilism, i.e. seeking Reality in quarters where it does not exist, is a physiological symptom which gives me a clue to the decadence of the Muslim world. This intellectual history of the ancient world will reveal to you this most significant fact that the decadents in all ages have tried to seek shelter behind self-mysticism and Nihilism. Having lost the vitality to grapple with the temporal, these prophets of decay apply themselves to the quest of a supposed eternal, and gradually complete the spiritual impoverishment and physical degeneration of their society by evolving a healthy and powerful to death”<sup>6</sup>.

This is the reason why Iqbal argues that the awakening of Muslim world is possible only if the elements, which are not part of the real Islamic message, are found and completely removed, thus helping to achieve a perspective nearer and closer to the Quranic revelation. The issues related to the society and the character of Islamic law, according to Iqbal, cannot be examined without a deep meditation on the metaphysical principles of the Quranic revelation. This is the task that Iqbal attempts to undertake in *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*.

The Islamic culture will be revived and Muslim society will progress on Islamic foundations, only after a careful work of differentiation between the essential metaphysical, anthropological and theological perspective endowed in the Quranic revelation and the influences which during the centuries corrupted the genuine Islamic message. In this way the reconstruction of the Islamic political and social thought, in order to adapt it to the needs of modern life, will be really possible.

Only in this way Islam will become a vital force not only in the life of the individual but in that one of the whole society, “Islam does not aim at the moral reformation of the individual alone; it also aims at a gradual but fundamental revolution in the social life of mankind, which should altogether change its national and racial viewpoint and create in its place a purely human consciousness....It was Islam and Islam alone which, for the first time, gave the message to mankind that religion was neither national and racial, nor individual and private, but purely human and that its purpose was to unite and organise mankind despite all its natural distinctions”<sup>7</sup>.

In the Seventh Lecture, in *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Iqbal observes that the contemporary man is in need of a spiritual interpretation of the universe, a spiritual emancipation of the individual and universal principles capable to lead the spiritual evolution of humanity on a spiritual basis. Iqbal argues that only the Muslim society will be able to lead the humanity of the future, being a spiritual leader among the nations through the rediscovery of its more original and essential features. The Muslim community, from a historical point of view, has got a great responsibility, a responsibility rooted in a religious background since the true Muslim life needs a society where the Islamic values can be practically experienced, "The nature of the Prophet's religious experience, as disclosed in the Quran, however, is wholly different. It is not a mere experience in the sense of a purely biological event, happening inside the experiment and necessitating no reactions on its social environment. It is individual experience creative of a social order. Its immediate outcome is the fundamentals of a polity with implicit legal concepts whose civic significance cannot be belittled merely because their origin is revelational. The religious ideal of Islam, therefore, is organically related to the social order which it has created. The rejection of the one will eventually involve the rejection of the other"<sup>8</sup>.

The spiritual and cultural strength of Islam rests on the lack of separation between the spiritual and social sphere of human life. Islam teaches that only a balanced life, which respects both the needs of the body and the soul, can satisfy human nature, which is constituted by a material and a spiritual component. The lack of balance between the spiritual and the material side of man, necessary will lead to the suffering of the individual, and the society as well. Iqbal states, "Islam does not bifurcate the unity of man into an irreconcilable duality of spirit and matter. In Islam God and the universe, spirit and matter, Church and State, are organic to each other. Man is not the citizen of a profane world to be renounced in the interest of a world of spirit situated elsewhere. To Islam matter is spirit realising itself in space and time. Europe uncritically accepted the duality of spirit and matter from Manichean thought"<sup>9</sup>.

The spiritual and material side of human being should cooperate for the development of the individual as a whole. This principle is applied also in the social life of the mankind. Iqbal writes, "Thus the Quran considers it necessary to unite religion and state, ethics and politics in a single revelation."<sup>10</sup>

“It was quite otherwise with Islam. Here the idea was neither a concept of philosophy nor a dream of poetry. As a social movement the aim of Islam was to make the idea a living factor in the Muslim’s daily life, and thus silently and imperceptibly to carry it towards fuller fruition”<sup>11</sup>.

In Islam there is no tension or dichotomy between spirit and matter, but the continuous search for a balance through which both sides of man can express their real nature. This is the reason why the spiritual development needs a society where the believers can live according to the premises of their faith. Only through this balance it is possible to establish a lasting society, where human being has got the chance of both spiritual and material growths, in order that the extreme development of only one side would not be dangerous for the other. Islam, in fact, refuses every form of renunciation apt to mortify the body and gives every aspect of human nature the respect which it deserves.

In Islam the absence of a separation between what in the Christian tradition is defined Sacred and Profane, is a point of great strength and full of potentiality for the development of the individual and the mankind. According to the teachings of Islam the individual and the community, the spiritual and the material life are deeply connected and dependent on each other, since the well-being of the individual and the society as a whole determines them. A society, which is not founded on securing justice for all its members but only safeguarding the privileges of few, cannot be called healthy and Islamic. In the same way, individuals deprived of the means of subsistence and education, cannot build an Islamic society, because of the lack of development and the knowledge necessary to reach the spiritual maturity which Islam obligates upon the believers. Iqbal entrusts Muslims with a great task to carry out: to save Muslim society from the decadence, laying down the foundations for the progress and the future life of the community. Iqbal states, “The only effective power, therefore, that counteracts the forces of decay in a people is the rearing of self-concentrated individuals. Such individuals alone reveal the depth of life. This discloses new standards in the light of which we begin to see that our environment is not wholly inviolable and requires revision. The tendency to over-organization by a false reverence of the past, as manifested in the legists of Islam in the thirteenth century and later, was contrary to the inner pulse of Islam (...)”<sup>12</sup>.

In the philosophical thought of Iqbal one of the central concepts is man as a vice-regent of God on the earth, as the Quran teaches. This insightful

approach to man raises him from the humbleness of his own biological constitution, leading him towards the spiritual development, in a continuous ascending movement towards progress and freedom. According to Iqbal: "It is not the origin of a thing that matters, it is the capacity, the significance, and the final reach of the emergent that matters"<sup>13</sup>.

According to the Quranic revelation, man, at the beginning of his life in this world, had to face a difficult, dangerous environment where he was forced to live in a condition of insecurity and need. At the same time it is necessary to remember that man doesn't occupy the earth because of a divine punishment, but because this place, even with all the sufferings and pain, seems to be the more suitable place for developing his faculties, since human existence shares with the universe its dynamic character and always aims at new tasks to perform. Even when man is often placed in a hostile environment, where sometimes it is difficult to live, Islam teaches that man is called to interpret and face the hardship as something that has to be overcome for the material growth and spiritual development of the individual and the community. Islam doesn't deny the presence in the world of injustice, pain and evil; however, it doesn't interpret them as essential parts in the constitution of the universe and, therefore, as necessary and impossible to overcome, but as accidents which man is called to face and defeat.

Iqbal says, "Sin, pain, sorrow, struggle are certainly real but Islam teaches that evil is not essential to the universe; the universe can be reformed; the elements of sin and evil can be gradually eliminated. All that is in the universe is God's and the seemingly destructive forces of nature become sources of life, if properly controlled by man, who is endowed with the power to understand and to control them"<sup>14</sup>.

. "Islam believes in the efficacy of well-directed action; hence the standpoint of Islam must be described as melioristic- the ultimate presupposition and justification of all human effort at scientific discovery and social progress. Although Islam recognises the fact of pain, sin and struggle in nature, yet the principal fact which stands in the way of man's ethical progress is, according to Islam, neither pain, nor sin, nor struggle. It is fear to which man is a victim owing to his ignorance of the nature of his environment and want of absolute faith in God. The highest stage of man's ethical progress is reached when he becomes absolutely free from fear and grief"<sup>15</sup>.

The natural forces, which, in a less developed and more primitive stage of his existence, constituted for man a source of danger and everlasting misery,



through the progress of knowledge and the means to dominate the nature, can change their nature and become in the long run sources. In this process of continuous improvement the role of time is fundamental, since, thanks to the temporal reality of human life, and the future interpreted as an open possibility, where man can realize or lose himself, it is possible to build a lasting society, where the greatest importance accorded to the dialectic between tradition and innovation.

According to Iqbal, “the ethical ideal of Islam is to disenthral man from fear, and thus to give him a sense of his personality, to make him conscious of himself as a source of power. This idea of man as an individuality of infinite power determines, according to the teachings of Islam, the worth of all human action. That which intensifies the sense of individuality in man is good, that which enfeebles it is bad. Virtue is power, force, strength; evil is weakness. Give man a keen sense of respect for his own personality, let him move fearless and free in the immensity of God’s earth, and he will respect the personalities of others and become perfectly virtuous”<sup>16</sup>.

“Character is the ultimate equipment of man, not only his efforts against a hostile natural environment but also in his contest with kindred competitors after a fuller, richer, ampler life. The life-force of the Indian Muhammadan, however, has become woefully enfeebled. The decay of the religious spirit, combined with other causes of a political nature over which he had no control, has developed in him an habit of self-dwarfing, a sense of dependence and, above all, that laziness of spirit which an enervated people call by the dignified name of “contentment” in order to conceal their own enfeeblement”<sup>17</sup>.

The place of man and the conduct appropriate to his role in the world are deeply connected with his environment, since his essence and that one of the universe are related to each other. As the nature of the universe is dynamic and connected with the Creator, in the same way, man, as a vice-regent of God in this world, is called to interpret the signs of his environment in order to answer promptly to the challenges of his society and to act with strength in the historical becoming. In Islam history has got a very positive connotation since it is interpreted as a source of inspiration and knowledge, even if it should be avoided as an uninspiring reverence of the past. .

Iqbal gives the education a central role: to put the Muslims in the condition to understand the premises of their religion and culture and to learn from their own history, in order to be able to look at the future with hope and at the past with pride, without losing themselves in despair for what is lost and in the

awareness of the possibility of new intellectual gains and a new cultural awakening. Once Iqbal, while discussing with a friend who was sceptic about the possibility of the rebirth of decayed civilizations, said that this kind of approach is not suitable for a Muslim, since Islam speaks continuously about *qiyamat*, i. e. resurrection of all the living creatures<sup>18</sup>. According to Iqbal “if today you focus your vision on Islam and seek inspiration from the ever-vitalising idea embodied in it, you will be only reassembling your scattered forces, regaining your lost integrity, and thereby saving yourself from total destruction. One of the profoundest verses in the Holy Quran teaches us that the birth and rebirth of the whole of humanity is like the birth and rebirth of a single individual. Why cannot you who, as a people, can well claim to be the first practical exponents of this superb conception of humanity, live and move and have your being as a single individual?”<sup>19</sup>.

The study of Islamic history and the challenges the Muslim community had to face during centuries should become a source of inspiration for the new generations, which are called to look at the future with hope, determination and the will to improving their present condition. But, if they became a source of frustration for what is lost, they will be of any help in the present situation of the community who has got the duty to instil in the young generation a sense of hope and pride for the achievements of their own culture and civilization. About the education of young Muslims Iqbal speaks as follows, “The ignorance of the Mussulmans of today is so great that they consider thoroughly anti-Islamic what has in the main arisen out of the bosom of their own culture.....”<sup>20</sup>, “it has been my painful experience that the Muslim Student, ignorant of the social, ethical and political ideals that have dominated the mind of his community, is spiritually dead; and that if the present state of affairs is permitted to continue for another twenty years the Muslim spirit which is now kept alive by a few representatives of the old Muslim culture, will entirely disappear from the life of our community”<sup>21</sup>.

Iqbal’s perspective is completely different from that of the traditionalists, who interpret the past, glorious Muslim history of the first centuries as the peak of Muslim civilization, though, it doesn’t seem to be able to lead the community towards the modernity. For Iqbal the past doesn’t have a sacred meaning, and it is not interpreted as something impossible to reach in the present or in the future; the past becomes the object of study and reflection of Iqbal, in the light of the Quran and the life examples of the Prophet, in order to understand what are its elements of strength and of weakness, and what

are its mistakes and the attitudes that need to be modified.

The interpretation of the history as a continuous and dynamic process, according to Iqbal, is one of the most important teachings of Quranic revelation, which Muslim thinkers have been unable to understand deeply, may be due to the influences of Greek philosophy and Persian culture. Iqbal can be approached as a major thinker, not only in Islam but in the East, who reflected seriously on the problem of Time and history in his philosophical speculation, giving them a fundamental role in the life and progress of the universe.

Islamic society should be rooted in the eternal principles, stable pillars in a world of continuous changing, but at the same time, it should be able to use them as means in order to read and interpret the signs of history and not to try to deny and ignore them. In fact, if the eternal principles from the guidance of man through the historical development, become the sources of denial of every becoming, then they are deprived of their fundamental role, becoming as the means employed to deny the reality of history, which the Quran interprets as one of the greatest signs of God. Be and becoming, appearance and reality, eternal and temporal in the Quranic revelation are deeply connected because they are all the aspects of the same creation, which is limited and destined by the Creator.

In a passage of *The Reconstruction of religious thought in Islam* Iqbal writes, "The important point to note in this connection, however, is the dynamic outlook of the Quran. (...) Only we should not forget that life is not change, pure and simple. It has within it elements of conservation also. While enjoying his creative activity, and always focusing his energies on the discovery of new vistas of life, man has a feeling of uneasiness in the presence of his own unfoldment. In his forward movement he cannot help looking back to his past, and faces his own inward expansion with a certain amount of fear. The spirit of man in its forward movement is restrained by forces which seem to be working in the opposite direction. This is only another way of saying that life moves with the weight of its own past on its back, and that in any view of social change the value and function of the forces of conservatism cannot be lost sight of. It is with this organic insight into the essential teaching of the Quran that modern Rationalism ought to approach our existing institutions. No people can afford to reject their past entirely, for it is their past that has made their personal identity. And in a society like Islam the problem of a revision of old institutions becomes still more delicate, and the responsibility of the reformer assumes a far more serious aspect"<sup>22</sup>.

The relation between the essence of human being and the constitution of the universe, as has been expressed in the Quranic revelation, is founded on dynamism. The extreme importance of future and his real character assign to man a great responsibility towards him and the whole humanity and the same time give him a hope in still unrealized achievement. Iqbal observes, "As a cultural movement Islam rejects the old static view of the universe, and reaches a dynamic view"<sup>23</sup>, "As I have already pointed out, the universe, according to the Quran, is liable to increase. It is a growing universe and not an already completed product which left the hand of his maker ages ago and is now lying stretched in space as a dead mass of matter to which time does nothing and consequently is nothing"<sup>24</sup>.

A metaphysical doctrine, which denies the role of Time, also nullifies the value of history, which becomes meaningless and not a source of new hopes and projects for man; time, in such vision, appears as a horizon of necessary events, established since eternity and waiting in a kind of limbo to happen.

According to this perspective man doesn't have a role, either social or historical, since he would be victorious or defeated in his own environment and exists without having the possibility to act freely. "The world process, or the movement of universe in time, is certainly devoid of purpose, if by purpose we mean a foreseen end- a far-off fixed destination to which the whole creation moves. To endow the world-process with purpose in this sense is to rob it of its originality and its creative character. Its ends are terminations of a career; they are end to come and not necessarily premeditated. A time-process cannot be conceived as a line already drawn. It is a line in the drawing- an actualization of open possibilities. It is purposive only in this sense that it is selective in character, and brings itself to some sort of a present fulfilment by actively preserving and supplementing the past"<sup>25</sup>.

Iqbal is very critical towards a cyclic conception of history, both in the formulation in Greek philosophy and in the Nietzsche's vision, which defines a desperate doctrine from a Metaphysical point of view. The spirit of the Quran is anti-classic and the Greek thought, even when it has been a source of inspiration for Muslim thinkers, prevented them from understanding fully the originality of the Quranic revelation and its revolutionary message compared to classic metaphysic.

Iqbal says, "Whatever may be the criterion by which to judge the forward steps of a creative movement, the movement itself, if conceived as cyclic, ceased to be creative. Eternal recurrence is not eternal creation; it is eternal

repetition. We are now in a position to see the true significance of the intellectual revolt of Islam against Greek philosophy. The fact that this revolt originated in a purely theological interest shows that the anti-classical spirit of the Quran asserted itself in spite of those who began with a desire to interpret Islam in the light of Greek Thought”<sup>26</sup>.

The attitude of thought, which originated from the encounter of Islam with the Greek philosophy and Persian culture, deeply influenced the intellectual history of Islam that partly led to the political and economical decadence of the Muslim world.

In *The Reconstruction of the Religious Thought in Islam* Iqbal writes: “And the future is given to it as lying before, yet to be traversed; it is given only in the sense that it is present in its nature as an open possibility. It is time regarded as an organic whole that the Quran describes as *Taqdir* or the destiny- a word which has been so much misunderstood both in and outside the world of Islam. Destiny is time regarded as prior to the disclosure of its open possibilities. (.....) Time regarded as destiny forms the very essence of things. As the Quran says: “God created all things and assigned to each its destiny”. The destiny of a thing then is not an unrelenting fate working from without like a task master; it is the inward reach of a thing, its realizable possibilities which lie within the depths of its nature, and serially actualize themselves without any feeling of external compulsion”<sup>27</sup>.

When Iqbal states that the destiny (*Taqdir*) is the real essence of beings, he makes a revolutionary statement for the classic metaphysics, which however seems to be fully justified from the perspective of the Quranic revelation. To say that destiny constitutes the real essence of beings means that the essence is neither being nor becoming alone but both of them. The essence of a thing, man and universe included, is a being which is in the process of becoming and, during this process, it is deeply connected with the Creator. In the notion of *Taqdir* in fact we find the link between man, universe and God.

According to Iqbal, the essence of man continues to exist in the being only if he accepts to live in the becoming, moving towards the source of his existence, “It is the lot of man to share in the deeper aspiration of the universe around him and to shape his own destiny as well as that of the universe, now by adjusting himself to its forces, now by putting the whole of his energy to mould his forces to his own ends and purposes. And in this process of progressive change God becomes a co-worker with him, provided man takes the initiative. “Verily God will not change the condition of men, till they change

what is in themselves” (13:11) If he does not take the initiative, if he does not evolve the inner richness of his being, if he ceases to feel the inward push of advancing life, then the spirit within him hardens into stone and he is reduced to the level of dead matter. But his life and the onward march of his spirit depend on the establishment of connexions with the reality that confronts him”<sup>28</sup>, “thus in his inmost being man, as conceived by the Quran, is a creative activity, an ascending spirit who, in his onward march, rises from one state of being to another: “It needs not that I swear by the sunset redness and by the night and its gatherings and by the moon when at her full, that from state to state shall ye be surely carried onward (84:16-19)”<sup>29</sup>.

Iqbal demonstrates through a careful citation of the Quranic verses that the becoming should not be interpreted as a stain and imperfection of being, as in the classical philosophy, but it is part of his own existence, of which the natural manifestations are symbols. In the context of Quranic perspective the destiny of man cannot be interpreted as an oppressive fate controlling his life from outside, but should be interpreted as the inner realization of the internal possibilities of his own essence. In fact, only what “is” can “become” and the process of becoming through time, interpreted as an open possibility, realizes his internal possibilities.

For this reason Iqbal felt the need for a new interpretation of the premises of the political and social thought of Islam. The essential core of his reflection on Islamic politics, which connects with his overall philosophical outlook as explained here before, is expressed as follows, : “Islam, as a polity, is only a practical means of making this principle a living factor in the intellectual and emotional life of mankind. It demands loyalty to God, not to thrones. And since God is the ultimate spiritual basis of all life, loyalty to God virtually amounts to man’s loyalty to his own ideal nature. The ultimate spiritual basis of all life, as conceived by Islam, is eternal and reveals itself in variety and change. A society based on such a conception of Reality must reconcile, in its life, the categories of permanence and change. It must possess eternal principles to regulate its collective life, for the eternal gives us a foothold in the world of perpetual change. But eternal principles when they are understood to exclude all possibilities of change which, according to the Quran, is one of the greatest signs of God, tend to immobilize what is essentially mobile in its nature”<sup>30</sup>.

Iqbal explores the possibility of the rebirth of Muslim community under different points of view: cultural, political and economical. The awakening

of Muslim community will become a reality only through the political unity, along with a new interpretation of Islamic law. Iqbal, several times, expresses the fear that Islam could become what Christianity already became in Europe: a personal faith which has got little or scarce influence on the social and political life of the believers. Iqbal is afraid that Muslim society also would confine the faith to the sphere of private life, instead the political and social choices would follow a different logic: "Would you like to see Islam, as a moral and political ideal, meeting the same fate in the world of Islam as Christianity has already met in Europe? It is possible to retain Islam as an ethical ideal and to reject it as a polity in favour of national polities, in which religious attitude is not permitted to play any part?"<sup>31</sup>.

If this would happen, the essential character of Quranic revelation would be lost and Muslims would meet the same fate of Westerners. "Spiritual and temporal aspects of human life, far from being mutually exclusive, were organically related to each other, and that there was no need to bifurcate the unity of individual and collective life into the domains of Church and State"<sup>32</sup>. Islam refuses every distinction of this kind because, as Iqbal wrote after coming back from England, "Islam is something more than a creed, it is also a community, a nation. The membership of Islam as a community is not determinate by birth, locality or naturalisation. (.....) Islam in its essence is above all conditions of time and space. Nationality with us is a pure idea, it has no geographical basis"<sup>33</sup>.

The political decadence of the Muslim world has been created by the inability of Muslims to live according to the Islamic principles and their acceptance of philosophical ideas and mystical conceptions belonging to the pre-Islamic era, which were very different from the reality of the Quranic revelation. Iqbal argues, "As a matter of fact, I consider it a great loss that the progress of Islam as a conquering faith stultified the growth of those germs of an economic and democratic organization which I find scattered up and down the pages of the Quran and the traditions of the Prophet. No doubt, the Muslims succeeded in building a great empire, but thereby they largely repaganized their political ideals, and lost sight of some of the most important potentialities of their faith. Islam certainly aims at absorption. This absorption, however, is to be achieved not by territorial conquest but by the simplicity of its teachings, its appeal to the common sense of mankind and its aversion to abstruse metaphysical dogma"<sup>34</sup>.

How it would be possible for the Muslim community to overcome the social,



economical and cultural backwardness, which has been the main feature of the decadence of Muslim civilization, and be again part of the main historical stream? According to Iqbal, the awakening of the Muslim world is possible through *Ijtihad*, the dynamic principle of Islamic law. "The word literally means to exert. In the terminology of Islamic law it means to exert with a view to form an independent judgement on a legal question. The idea, I believe, has its origin in a well-known verse of the Qur'an: "And to those who exert We show Our path"<sup>35</sup>.

In fact the social and economical immobility, which marked the epoch of Muslim decadence, made it quite impossible to practise *Ijtihad*. This is the reason why Islamic law didn't evolve since the III century and therefore reflects the historical and social condition of that epoch. Iqbal writes, "The theoretical possibility of this degree of *Ijtihad* is admitted by the Sunnis, but in practise it has always been denied ever since the establishment of the schools, inasmuch as the idea of complete *Ijtihad* is hedged round by conditions which are well-nigh impossible of realization in a single individual. Such an attitude seems exceedingly strange in a system of law based mainly on the groundwork provided by the Quran which embodies an essentially dynamic outlook on life"<sup>36</sup>.

The immobility of Islamic law lasted for centuries can be attributed to historical and cultural reasons. From an historical point of view the main reason for the decadence of Muslim society is due to the development of a policy based on un-Islamic premises. This is the reason why Iqbal spoke about a repaganization of the Muslim polity at the time of territorial expansion. From the cultural side, the extreme conservatism of the doctors of law- partly justified by the sensitive historical situation in which Muslim community was living at that historical time- who decided to strengthen the tradition to the detriment of the innovation, led during centuries to the complete immobility in legal matters. Iqbal argues, "Thus, partly owing to a misunderstanding of the ultimate motives of Rationalism, and partly owing to the unrestrained thought of particular Rationalists, conservative thinkers regarded this movement as a force of disintegration, and considered it a danger to the stability of Islam as a social polity. Their main purpose, therefore, was to preserve the social integrity of Islam, and to realize this the only course open to them was to utilize the binding force of Shari'ah and to make the structure of their legal system as rigorous as possible"<sup>37</sup>.



But, according to Iqbal, a society healthy and open to development should be able to reconcile the conservative element of the tradition with the dynamic one of the innovation. Unfortunately, Muslim community in this regard seems to have failed; and, without participating actively to the historical process, it finally has been forced, after centuries of immobility, to suffer the consequences of an historical process which developed on basis completely different from Islamic teachings. As Javid Iqbal explains, “Iqbal always distinguished between modernity and Westernisation. To him Westernisation was imitating an alien culture, for which he criticised the Turks. But modernism to him was accepting the reality of change. According to Iqbal, the Quran commanded the acceptance of the reality of change for the progress of Muslims in all spheres and fields; otherwise they would be left behind....Now what he means by a new man or a new Muslim society is that the creative potential of Muslim community must be reviewed. In the context of creativity, Iqbal uses the expression innovation”<sup>38</sup>.

Iqbal feared that the encounter of Muslims with Western culture could prevent them from the aim to rebuild the premises for the political and cultural rebirth of Islamic community. Even though he interprets the progressive approach between the East and the West as positive, his concern is that the Muslim youth, partly due to their lack of education and ignorance of the Islamic history, cultural and law, would be unable to understand the inner inwardness of Western culture; and they would be also be unable to propose and alternative system based on their own cultural tradition.

Iqbal says, “During the last five hundred years religious thought in Islam has been practically stationary. There was a time when European thought received inspiration from the world of Islam. The most remarkable phenomenon of modern history, however, is the enormous rapidity with which the world of Islam is spiritually moving towards the West. There is nothing wrong in this movement, for European culture, on its intellectual side, is only a further development of some of the most important phases of the culture of Islam. Our only fear is that the dazzling exterior of European culture may arrest our movement and we may fail to reach the true inwardness of that culture”<sup>39</sup>.

Iqbal invited the young listeners of his lectures and the future generations of Muslims to be open towards Western thought without losing or despising their own cultural and religious heritage, but interpreting the occasion of the encounter as an opportunity for re-evaluating and rethinking the inner possibilities of their culture in the light of modern experience. Iqbal argues: “In

view of the basic idea of Islam that there can be no further revelation binding on man, we (Muslims) ought to be spiritually one of the most emancipated peoples on earth. Early Muslims emerging out of the spiritual slavery of pre-Islamic Asia were not in a position to realise the true significance of this basic idea”<sup>40</sup>.

Iqbal thought that even Muslim world would become victim of the ideology of nationalism, which he interpreted as completely opposite to the political ideals of Islam, “When a Muslim’s mind and heart are overpowered by that idea of nationalism which the Maulana is preaching, then it is inevitable that various kinds of doubts should arise in his mind concerning the foundation of Islam. From nationalism thoughts naturally move towards the idea that mankind has been so sharply divided into nations that it is impossible to bring about unity among them. This second error which arises from nationalism gives birth to the conception of the relativity of religions”<sup>41</sup>.

Iqbal also said, “The pure brow of the principle of *Tawhid* has received more or less an impress of the ethical ideals of Islam has been lost through a process of heathenism (....). The only alternative open to us, then, is to tear off from Islam the hard crust which has immobilized an essentially dynamic outlook on life, and to rediscover the original verities of freedom, equality and solidarity with a view to rebuild our moral, social and political ideas out of their original simplicity and universality”<sup>42</sup>.

The political teaching of Islam cannot accept the nationalistic ideas because in Islam the division of humanity in peoples and nations has got only a relative importance, since it has got the function of identification instead of division. The distinction and the recognition of humanity as divided in peoples and nations in Islam is not used to justify the existence of people located in determinate geographical areas fighting for their own private interests and in the search of their own benefit to cultivate an imperialist policy, but as an invitation to the knowledge and reciprocal cooperation. Iqbal says, “God is slowly bringing home to us the truth that Islam is neither Nationalism nor Imperialism but a League of Nations which recognises artificial boundaries and racial distinctions for facility of reference only, and not for restricting the social horizon of its members”<sup>43</sup>.

Thinking about this great political plan, Iqbal invites all the Muslim nations “to sink into their own deeper self, temporally focus their vision on themselves alone, until all are strong and powerful to form a living family of republics. A true and living unity, according to the nationalist thinkers, is not so

to be achieved by a merely symbolical over lordship. It is truly manifested in a multiplicity of free independent units whose racial rivalries are adjusted and harmonized by the unifying bond of a common spiritual aspiration”<sup>44</sup>.

The political task that Iqbal proposes is immense and at the same time extremely fascinating. For the scholar, who has got a deep knowledge of Islamic history, the proposal of Iqbal appears natural in the process of the development of Islam interpreted in a political sense. Unfortunately, the long absence of Muslim community, which lived in a passive way without little or any active involvement, from the creative thinking process, makes this task even more difficult from the historical perspective.

Every Muslim country in fact has to rebuild their own national life from the social, political and cultural point of view and, at the same time, they should not close themselves in the horizon of the interests of only one nation, but should be involved in an active and fruitful cooperation with the rest of Muslim world, trying to avoid the mistakes committed by European states in the process of building their own national identities. Iqbal says, “It is the duty of the leaders of the world of Islam today to understand the real meaning of what has happened in Europe, and then to move forward with self-control and a clear insight into the ultimate aims of Islam as a social polity”<sup>45</sup>.

Islamic universalism doesn’t aim to delete in a traumatic way the cultural differences between the different people who embraced Islam, but it tries to integrate the different historical and cultural experiences in order to lead them towards a common spiritual aspiration. “The political ideal of Islam consists in the creation of a people born of free fusion of all races and nationalities. Nationality with Islam is not the highest limit of political development, for the general principles of the law of Islam rest on human nature, not on the peculiarities of particular people. Islam as an extraterritorial and supranational polity was concerned with the total life of man and could not confine itself to its spiritual aspect alone”<sup>46</sup>.

Now we are able to understand the difference between *Qawm* and *Millat*, as it is meant in the Quranic revelation that Iqbal uses to explain the Islamic political perspective at an international level. *Qawm* means a group of people who can have in common an ethical code, who live in the same territories or speak the same language. The word *Millat* means a kind of unity which can embrace different nations, but cannot be confined to none of them alone, since the values on which it is based can be shared by different peoples with different cultural backgrounds. In this context *Millat* is synonymous with the Mu-

slim *Ummah*. In Islam the concepts of nationalism and patriotism have got a relative value; and they are not the foundations of political thought and praxis. Iqbal explains clearly, "A *Qawm* can have a *Millat* or a particular way of life. The *Millat* of *Qawm*, on the other hand, has nowhere been used. This means that, in the Quran, God has used the word *Millat* and not *Qawm* for those persons who after renouncing different *Qawms* and *Millats* embraced the *Millat* of Abraham"<sup>47</sup>; "before his call to Prophethood, the nation of Muhammad (peace upon him) was no doubt a nation and a free one, but as Muhammad's *Ummah* began to be formed, the status of people as a nation became a secondary one. Those who accepted Muhammad's leadership became part and parcel of the Muslim or Muhammadan community irrespective of the fact whether they belonged to his own nation or other nations"<sup>48</sup>.

Iqbal states, "It is my belief that Islam is not a matter of private opinion. It is a society, or, if you like, a civil church. It is because present day political ideals, as they appear to be shaping themselves in India, may affect its original structure and character that I find myself interested in politics. I am opposed to nationalism as it is understood in Europe, not because, if it is allowed to develop in India, is likely to bring less material gain to Muslims. I am opposed to it because I see in it the germs of atheistic materialism which I look upon as the greatest danger to modern humanity. Patriotism is a perfectly natural virtue and has a place in the moral life of man. Yet that which really matters is a man's faith, his culture, his historical tradition. These are the things which, in my eyes, are worth living for and dying for, and not the piece of earth with which the spirit of man happened to be temporally associated"<sup>49</sup>.

The aims and purposes of Muslim *Ummah* are different from those of the nationalists since, as Iqbal says, "The ultimate purpose of the prophetic mission of Muhammad is to create a form of society, the constitution of which follows that divine law which the Prophet Muhammad received from God. In other words, the object of purify the nations of the world of the abuses which go by the name of time, place, land, nation, race, genealogy, country, etc although the differences of nations, tribe, colours and languages are the same time acknowledged"<sup>50</sup>. "In the world of Islam we have a universal polity whose structure, owing to our legist's want of contact with the modern world, stands today in need of renewed power by fresh adjustments, I do not know what will be the final fate of the national idea in the world of Islam. Whether Islam will assimilate and transform it, as it has assimilated and transformed before many ideas expressive of a different spirit, or allow a racial transfor-

mation of its own structure by the force if this idea, is hard to predict”<sup>51</sup>.

Islam, as a social polity, aims at the creation of a society where the dignity and the value of the man are not based on his family background, on his ethnic group or on his wealth, but on the nature of his character and consequently on the nobility of his actions. According to Iqbal, in order to carry out this ideal, it is necessary to free Islamic law from interpretations belonging to a different epoch. Muslims, “spiritually are living in a prison-house of thoughts and emotions which during the course of centuries we have woven round ourselves. And be it further said to the shame of us- man of older generation- that we have failed to equip the younger generation for the economical, political and even religious crises that the present age is likely to bring. The whole community needs a complete overhauling of its presents mentality in order that it may again become capable of feeling the urge of fresh desires and ideals”<sup>52</sup>.

Muslim community “has long ceased to explore the depths of his own inner life. The result is that he has ceased to live in the full glow and colour of life, and is consequently in danger of an unmanly compromise with forces which, he is made to think, he cannot vanquish in open conflict. God changeth not the condition of a people until they themselves take the initiative to change their condition”<sup>53</sup>.

It is fundamental that the community and the individuals who belong to it are put in the condition to find the spiritual strength and the courage to commit themselves to overcome the cultural decadence. This task needs an environment in which it is possible for man to act freely. In fact, if human being is deprived of the possibility to act for the good, for the fear to commit mistakes, and he withdraws in a spirituality interpreted as exclusion from active life, in the long run, the faith will become sterile and source of superstition. This kind of spirituality cannot be interpreted as Islamic, since in Islam the continuous exchange is fundamental, both at the levels of the community and the private individual, between the spiritual improvement and the action in this world. The dialogue between God and His community takes place in history, as it is said in many verses of the Quran, when the believer is invited to ponder over the days of God and to meditate on the story of the communities and civilizations which lived in the earth before his own Muslims are called to worship God also through his commitment in this world, which should not become an excuse for being arrogant and proud, but should be done in the awareness of the duty towards the Creator and, indirectly, also towards themselves.

The lack of political freedom, and the fatalistic conception of history, which most of the time goes with the former, are responsible for the birth and development of a form of spirituality which seems to arrest instead of promoting the development of mankind. Iqbal states: "The great democratic Prophet lived and worked among intelligent man who have transmitted to posterity every word that dropped from his sacred lips. (.....) Every word of the Quran is brimful of light and joy of existence. Far from justifying any gloomy, pessimistic Mysticism, it is an open assault on those religious teachings which have for centuries mystified mankind. Accept, then, the reality of the world cheerfully and grapple with it for the glorification of God and His Prophet"<sup>54</sup>.

Iqbal clearly argues that, "Due to the great change in the condition of our lives, certain new cultural necessities have emerged, that the principles devised by our jurists (*Fuqaha*) the collection of which is generally known as Islamic Sharia, needs revision. (.....) Most of the interpretations of the Holy Quran and *Hadith* advanced by our jurist from time to time are such as were relevant and suitable for specific periods of time, but do not conform to the modern needs and requirements of the Muslim community. (....) We need not only to follow a new theological approach (*ilm ul-Kalam*) in support of the principles of religion, but need also a great jurist who could reinterpret Islamic law, and grant such breadth to the rules, through his logic and implication, that they would fulfil all the possible demands and requirements of the present day Muslims"<sup>55</sup>.

Getting inspiration from the work of Shah Waliullah, Iqbal underlines that the social and political organization of Muslim society in their historical formulations never showed uniform features, since historical, social and cultural conditions, with which Islam came into contact with, were different and for this reason they needed different juridical approaches.

Iqbal writes, "In the first place, we should bear in mind that from the earliest times, practically up to the rise of the Abbasids, there was no written law of Islam apart from the Quran. Secondly, it is worthy of note that from about the middle of the first century up to the beginning of the fourth not less than nineteen schools of law and legal opinion appeared in Islam. This fact alone is sufficient to show how incessantly our early doctors of law worked in order to meet the necessities of a growing civilization. With the expansion of conquest and the consequent widening of the outlook of Islam these early legists had to take a wider view of things and to study local conditions of life and habits of new peoples that came within the fold of Islam"<sup>56</sup>.

The immense works on legal issues of the first doctors of Islamic law were aimed at solving the problems of the different societies and cultures which became part of Muslim *Ummah*. However, this doesn't mean the relativism of the law, but only an effort to apply Islamic principles, clearly issued in the Quran and the Traditions of the Prophet, to different historical conditions. Iqbal states, "The prophetic method of teaching, according to Shah Wali Allah, is that, generally speaking, the law revealed by a prophet takes especial notice of the habits, ways, and peculiarities of the people to whom he is specifically sent. The Prophet who aims at all-embracing principles, however, can neither reveal different principles for different peoples, nor leaves them to work out their own rules of conduct. His method is to train one particular people, and to use them as a nucleus for the building up of a universal *Shari'ah*. In doing so he accentuates the principles underlying the social life of all mankind, and applies them to concrete cases in the light of the specific habits of the people immediately before him"<sup>57</sup>.

This means that the community, which received the revelation for the first time, constituted the first social nucleus in which Islamic principles have been applied; and it can be considered the first historical application of *Shari'ah*. However, even when in this case the characteristics of that culture, which were not in conflict with the core of Quranic revelation, have not been modified, this doesn't mean that they should be considered part of Islamic law. Iqbal, in fact, argues that some laws, which could be easily applied to the Arab society of that time, could be very difficult to apply in the subcontinent. This is the reason why it is necessary to have a new interpretation of the law through *Ijtihad* in order to face the needs of the contemporary life, through Islamic principles interpreted in the light of the changing political and historical conditions.

Iqbal however notices, "I know the Ulema of Islam claim finality for the popular schools of Muhammedan Law, though they never found it possible to deny the theoretical possibility of a complete *Ijtihad*. I have tried to explain the causes which, in my opinion, determined this attitude of the Ulema; but since things have changed and the world of Islam is confronted and affected to-day by new forces set free by the extraordinary development of human thought in all its directions, I see no reason why this attitude should be maintained any longer. Did the founders of our schools ever claim finality for their reasoning and interpretations? Never. The claim of the present generation of



slim liberals to reinterpret the foundational legal principles, in the light of their own experience and the altered conditions of modern life is, in my opinion, perfectly justified. The teaching of the Quran that life is a process of progressive creation necessitates that each generation, guided but unhampered by the work of his predecessors, should be permitted to solve its own problems”<sup>58</sup>.

The extremely conservative attitude, which could be justified under different historical conditions, doesn't have any reason to be adopted in the modern world; in fact, it is also very dangerous for the future of Muslim community that needs at this stage to go back to its own origins in order to understand deeply the special features of its culture and to prepare itself to face the future challenges.

The practise of *Ijtihad* for the modern jurist is easier than in the past, since more materials, on which each study can be based, are available. The main difficulty lays in the extreme conservative attitude of several Ulema. This is the reason why Iqbal, aware of that, justifies the necessity of *Ijtihad* not only on historical reasons, but on philosophical premises deduced from Quranic teachings. In this way he succeeded in demonstrating the deep metaphysical relation between man, universe and God, which happened in history, i.e. the temporal reality of being need, in order to remain alive, that universal principles are applied actually to determined historical conditions. The balanced relation between tradition and innovation, between eternal and temporal, according to Iqbal, is essential for the development and progress of Muslim *Ummah*, which from the political point of view aims at the creation of a league of democratic states.

Iqbal argues that “the essence of *Tawhid*, as a working idea, is equality, solidarity, and freedom. The state, from the Islamic standpoint, is an endeavour to transform these ideal principles into space-time forces, and aspiration to realize them in a definite human organization. It is in this sense alone that the state in Islam is a theocracy, not in the sense that it is headed by a representative of God on earth who can always screen his despotic will behind his supposed infallibility: (.....) There is no such thing as a profane world. All this immensity of matter constitutes a scope for the self-realization of spirit. All is holy ground. As the Prophet so beautifully puts it: “The whole of this earth is a mosque. The state, according to Islam, is only an effort to realize the spiritual in a human organization. But in this sense all state, not based on mere domination and aiming at the realization of ideals principles, is theo-



cratic. (.....) Islam was from the very beginning a civil society, having received from the Qur'an a set of simple legal principles which, (.....), carried, as experience subsequently proved, great potentiality of expansion and development by interpretation"<sup>59</sup>.

The basic principle of the Islamic State is to apply in the society the fundamental political ideals of Islam which, as Iqbal underlines, are grounded on equality, solidarity and freedom. These ideas, endowed with an eternal value, in order to be realized concretely in history should be applied in the society through a suitable form of government. According to Iqbal the best form of government for the Islamic state is democracy, since it seems to be the righter to answer to the needs of Muslim *umma* in the contemporary history.

In fact, in Islam the organization of the State is deeply related to the application of the Law, and it is not interpreted as detached from this purpose. When we speak about Islamic theocracy, according to Iqbal, we mean a form of government aiming at the realization in the human history of ideal principles, and not a state ruled by a representative of God on the earth. In fact, as Iqbal underlines, "The Caliph of Islam is not an infallible being; like other Muslims he is subject to the same law; he is elected by the people and is disposed by them if he goes contrary to the law.(...) Democracy, then, is the most important aspect of Islam regarded as a political ideal"<sup>60</sup>. Muslim community, which has got the duty to carry the God's final message to humanity, is called to be the most emancipated community in the history, and, because of the lack of a sacerdotal caste or nobility, every member of the community has got the duty, and not only the right, to develop his own spiritual potentiality. "There is no aristocracy in Islam. "The noblest among you", says the Prophet, "are those who fear God most"<sup>61</sup>.

Iqbal argues: "When, therefore, it is said that the interests of Islam are superior to those of the Muslim, it is meant that the interests of the individual as a unit are subordinate to the interests of the community as an external symbol of the Islamic principle. This is the only principle which limits the liberty of the individual, who is otherwise absolutely free"<sup>62</sup>.

Since every member of muslim community should have the possibility to act in the society and in the history as a free personality, carrying on the task which, according to the Quran, God entrusted to him, i.e. to be vice-regent of God in this world, seems that the democratic form of government would be the best from the islamic point of view, provided that it could guarantee the respect of the principles of equality, solidarity and freedom on which the isla-

mic social organization is routed.

Extreme poverty, lack of freedom and the use of violence to control people all lead to the destruction of the material and spiritual component of human beings, to the moral degeneration of society and also to the lost of faith. A condition of poverty and ignorance doesn't allow man to act as a free personality in the process of performing his own duties, since every human being is called to relate himself to his environment in a positive and fruitful way. As Iqbal beautifully wrote: "Abduhu is the fascioner of destiny, who co structs building out of ruins. Abduhu has a beginning but not end. His mornings and evenings are not like ours. He is why and wherefore of the universe. He is the inner mistery. He belongs neither to Arabia nor to Persia....."<sup>63</sup>.

## Notes:

- 1-Cfr. Iqbal M., *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 1, Ed. M. Saeed Sheikh, Institute of Islamic Culture, 2009, Lahore.
- 2-Cfr. Iqbal M., *Presidential Address Delivered at the Annual Session of the All- India Muslim Conference*, Lahore, 21st March 1932, *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, p. 43, Ed. by Latif Ahmad Sherwani, Lahore 2005.
- 3-Cfr. Iqbal M., *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 44.
- 4-Cfr. Iqbal M., *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 104.
- 5-Cfr. Iqbal M., *Islam and Mysticism*, The New Era, Lucknow, 28 July 1917, 250-251, *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, p. 155-156, Ed. by Latif Ahmad Sherwani, Lahore 2005.
- 6-Cfr. Iqbal M., *Islam and Mysticism*, The New Era, Lucknow, 28 July 1917, 250-251, *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, p. 154, Ed. by Latif Ahmad Sherwani, Lahore 2005.
- 7-Cfr. Iqbal M., *Statement on Islam and Nationalism in Reply to a Statement of Maulana Husain Ahmad*, published in the Ehsan on 9th March, 1938, *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, p. 302-303, Ed. by Latif Ahmad Sherwani, Lahore 2005.
- 8-Cfr. Iqbal M., *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 142.
- 9-Cfr. Iqbal M., *Presidential Address Delivered at the Annual Session of the All- India Muslim League*, 29th December 1930, *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, p. 7-8, Ed. by Latif Ahmad Sherwani, Lahore 2005.
- 10-Cfr. Iqbal M., *Presidential Address Delivered at the Annual Session of the All- India Muslim League*, 29th December 1930, *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, p. 5, Ed. by Latif Ahmad Sherwani, Lahore 2005.
- 11-Cfr. Iqbal M., *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 132.
- 12-Cfr. Iqbal M., *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 112.
- 13-Cfr. Iqbal M., *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 120.
- 14-Cfr. Iqbal M., *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 85.
- 15-Cfr. Iqbal M., *Islam as a Moral and Political Ideal*, The Observer, April 1909, The Hindustan Review July/ December 1909, *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, p. 101, Ed. by Latif Ahmad Sherwani, Lahore 2005.
- 16-Cfr. Iqbal M., *Islam as a Moral and Political Ideal*, The Observer, April 1909, The Hindustan Review July/ December 1909, *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, p. 102, Ed. by Latif Ahmad Sherwani, Lahore 2005.
- 17-Cfr. Iqbal M., *Islam as a Moral and Political Ideal*, The Observer, April

- 1909, The Hindustan Review July/ December 1909, *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, p. 103, Ed. by Latif Ahmad Sherwani, Lahore 2005.
- 18-Cfr. Iqbal M., *Islam as a Moral and Political Ideal*, The Observer, April 1909, The Hindustan Review July/ December 1909, *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, p. 107, Ed. by Latif Ahmad Sherwani, Lahore 2005.
- 19-Cfr. Rahbar M. D., *Glimpses of the Man*, in *Iqbal Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan*, edited by Hafeez Malik, 48-49, Iqbal Academy of Pakistan, 2005 Lahore.
- 20-Iqbal M., *Presidential Address Delivered at the Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League*, 29th December 1930, *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, p. 29, Ed. by Latif Ahmad Sherwani, Lahore 2005.
- 21-Cfr. Iqbal M., *Letter to Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan (1867-1930)*, Secretary, All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference, Aligarh, 4th June 1925, Sialkot, *Letters of Iqbal*, ed. by Bashir Ahmad Dar, p. 152, 2005, Lahore.
- 22-Cfr. Iqbal M., *The Muslim Community- a Sociological Study*, *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, p. 131-132, Ed. by Latif Ahmad Sherwani, Lahore 2005.
- 23-Cfr. Iqbal M., *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 132.
- 24-Cfr. Iqbal M., *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 116.
- 25-Cfr. Iqbal M., *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 44.
- 26-Cfr. Iqbal M., *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 44.
- 27-Cfr. Iqbal M., *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 113.
- 28-Cfr. Iqbal M., *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 40.
- 29-Cfr. Iqbal M., *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 10.
- 30-Cfr. Iqbal M., *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 10.
- 31-Cfr. Iqbal M., *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 117.
- 32-Cfr. Iqbal M., *Presidential Address Delivered at the Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League*, 29th December 1930, *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, p. 7, Ed. by Latif Ahmad Sherwani, Lahore 2005.
- 33-Cfr. Riffat H., *Development of Political Philosophy*, in *Iqbal Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan*, edited by Hafeez Malik, 136-158, 141, Iqbal Academy of Pakistan, 2005 Lahore.
- 34-Cfr. Iqbal M., *Islam as a Moral and Political Ideal*, The Observer, April 1909, The Hindustan Review July/ December 1909, *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, p. 114, Ed. by Latif Ahmad Sherwani, Lahore 2005.

- 35-Cfr. Iqbal M., *Letter to Dr. Nicholson*, 24 th January 1921, *Letters of Iqbal*, by Bashir Ahmad Dar, p. 146, 2005, Lahore.
- 36-Cfr. Iqbal M., *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 117-118.
- 37-Cfr. Iqbal M., *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 118.
- 38-Cfr. Iqbal M., *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 119
- 39-Cfr. Iqbal J., *Modern Indian Muslims and Iqbal*, in *Iqbal Review*, Journal of the Iqbal Academy Pakistan, April-October 2005, Ed. Muhammad Suheyl Umar, 85, Iqbal Academy of Pakistan, Lahore.
- 40-Cfr. Iqbal M., *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 6.
- 41-Cfr. Iqbal M., *Statement on Islam and Nationalism in reply to a Statement of Maulana Husain Ahmad*, published in the *Ehsan* on 9th March, *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, p. 311-312 , Ed. by Latif Ahmad Sherwani, Lahore 2005.
- 42-Cfr. Iqbal M., *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 124.
- 43-Cfr. Iqbal M., *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 126.
- 44-Cfr. Iqbal M., *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 126.
- 45-Cfr. Iqbal M., *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 129.
- 46-Cfr. Cfr. Riffat H., *Development of Political Philosophy*, in *Iqbal Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan*, edited by Hafeez Malik, 136-158, 147, Iqbal Academy of Pakistan, 2005 Lahore.
- 47-Cfr. Iqbal M., *Statement on Islam and Nationalism in Reply to a Statement of Maulana Husain Ahmad*, published in the *Ehsan* on 9th March, 1938, *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, p. 308, Ed. by Latif Ahmad Sherwani, Lahore 2005.
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